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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOR FRANK WISNER

FOL RPT LONDON 19671 ACTION SECSTATE 6 DEC QUOTE

S E C R E T LONDON 19671

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DEPARTMENT PASS GENEVA FOR WISNER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SCHAUFLELE-DUFF CONVERSATION

1. SCHAUFLELE AND EMBASSY OFFICER SAW TONY DUFF AND PATRICK LAVER (HEAD OF RHODESIA DEPARTMENT) DECEMBER 6. DUFF FIRST GAVE HIS IMPRESSION OF THE LAST FEW DAYS OF THE TALKS IN GENEVA. HE SAID THE DISCUSSIONS IN RESTRICTED SESSION HAD BEEN USEFUL AND HAD GONE ON IN A REASONABLY CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE. THE NATIONALISTS ARE BEGINNING TO IDENTIFY COMMON IDEAS. THE DIFFICULTY, HE SAID, IS THAT THE CONFERENCE NOW LOOKS DESTINED FOR STALEMATE IF NOT DEADLOCK, AND THIS FORCES THE ISSUE OF STICKING TO DECEMBER 20 AS THE END OF THE GENEVA TALKS.

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IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW THE PROCESS CAN BE CARRIED FORWARD,

PARTICULARLY AS THE OBSERVERS SEEM TO BE TAKING THE "CHONAESQUE" LINE. DUFF CONTINUED THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THE REFUSAL OF THE NATIONALISTS AND OBSERVERS TO RECOGNIZE THAT GENEVA IS A NEGOTIATION. WHILE GENEVA IS A FORM OF SURRENDER, IT IS NOT UNCONDITIONAL.

2. A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR, DUFF SAID, IS SMITH'S RETURN TO GENEVA. HIS STANCE WILL LIKELY BE CONFRONTATIONAL. THE BRITISH HAVE TOLD THE RHODESIANS THAT THEY WILL PERSIST IN EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON SOMETHING RESEMBLING ANNEX C, BUT THE RHODESIANS "REMAIN DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF US AND OF OUR TACTICS. WE HAVE NOT TOLD THE RHODESIANS THAT THEY ARE NOT GOING TO GET ANNEX C, BUT IN REALITY THEY MUST NOW START TO THINK OF WHAT THEIR BASIC REQUIREMENTS ARE FOR A SETTLEMENT." DUFF SAID HE HAD SEEN BRAND FOURIE A WEEK AGO AND FOUND HIM MORE SENSIBLE AND FLEXIBLE THAN EVER BEFORE. FOURIE APPEARED TO UNDERSTAND THAT POINT THREE WAS VIRTUALLY UNOBTAINABLE AND THAT THE RHODESIANS MUST NOW BEGIN TO CONCENTRATE ON THEIR ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS.

3. AFTER THIS LEAD-IN, DUFF REFERRED TO THE SEELYE-SQUIR MEETING ON DECEMBER 4. HE APOLOGIZED THAT THE BRITISH HAD NOT YET RESPONDED TO THE SUGGESTION OF A JOINT APPROACH TO NYERERE AND KAUNDA BASED ON THE POINTS REINHARDT MADE TO CHONA DECEMBER 3. HE HAS NOT YET DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY WITH EITHER CROSLAND OR ROWLANDS. HE SUSPECTS THEY WOULD BOTH AGREE TO THE IDEA OF A JOINT APPROACH BUT NOT THAT IT TAKE PLACE THIS WEEK. MINISTERS HERE WOULD SUPPORT ANY EFFORT TO INJECT SOME REALISM INTO AFRICAN THINKING, HE SAID. BUT BECAUSE STALEMATE SEEMS LIKELY AT GENEVA, THE BRITISH FIRST WANT TO REVIEW THE ENTIRE SITUATION BEFORE TAKING ANY FURTHER TACTICAL STEPS THEMSELVES. DUFF ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION IF WE WENT AHEAD UNILATERALLY WITH THE LETTERS.

4. DUFF SAID THAT HE HOPED THIS WEEKEND'S MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY CAN BE USED TO DISCUSS HOW TO CARRY THE RHODESIA PROCESS FORWARD. IF GENEVA DOES NOT SUCCEED BY ITSELF, IT CAN PERHAPS BE USED AS A STEPPING STONE TO

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SOMETHING ELSE. IVOR RICHARD IS RETURNING TO LONDON DECEMBER 7 TO REVIEW WITH MINISTERS WHETHER THE BRITISH SHOULD "BANG ON" IN GENEVA OR LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVES. DUFF EXPRESSED A FEAR THAT SMITH WILL BREAK UP THE CONFERENCE BECAUSE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONTRACT HAS BEEN VIOLATED. SCHAUFLELE DISAGREED, SAYING SMITH WOULD STILL PREFER THAT A COLLAPSE BE CAUSED BY THE NATIONALISTS.

5. DUFF SAID THERE SEEMED TO BE FOUR ALTERNATIVES FOR HOW BEST TO PROCEED: A) CONTINUE IN THE PRESENT GENEVA FORMAT BUT SEEK NEW WAYS TO APPLY PRESSURES THAT WILL MAKE THE PROCESS MORE MEANINGFUL; B) RECESS FOR TWO OR THREE WEEKS FOR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AND THEN RECONVENE THE CONFERENCE. HE RECOGNIZES THE DANGERS OF THIS COURSE, PARTICULARLY THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NATIONALISTS WOULD SET PRE-CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING THE TALKS; C) ADJOURN FOR EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH NO DATE SET FOR RECONVENING. THE POT COULD PERHAPS USE SOME MORE BOILING; D) DECLARE THAT THERE IS

NO APPARENT PURPOSE WHICH CAN USEFULLY BE SERVED BY CONTINUING THE GENEVA TALKS AND DISMISS THE CONFERENCE. OFFICIALS AND MINISTERS WOULD THEN SET OUT TO ESTABLISH A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR SOME OTHER FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS. DUFF WOULD FORESEE MORE ANGLO-AMERICAN SHUTTling AS A CONSEQUENCE, WITH THE GOAL OF A DIFFERENT, AGREED PACKAGE SPELLING OUT SPECIFICALLY WHAT THE BRITISH ROLE WOULD BE AND WHAT THE WHITE RHODESIANS WOULD NEED. SCHAUFLELE NOTED THAT ANY NEW ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS--IF THE CONFERENCE WERE DISBANDED--WOULD BE A DIFFICULT CHORE. TALKING INDIVIDUALLY TO THE PRESIDENTS, THE DELEGATION LEADERS, AND THE VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATIONS--EVEN IF THEY COULD ALL BE LOCATED--WOULD MAKE IT HARD TO DEVELOP ANY CONSISTENT CONSENSUS. MOREOVER, THE NATIONALISTS WOULD LIKELY BE MORE INTRANSIGENT SEPARATE THAN THEY ARE TOGETHER.

6. COMMENT: DUFF'S VIEWS ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE IDEAS HE EXPRESSED IN GENEVA TWO WEEKS AGO (GENEVA 9343). HE HAS NOT ONLY SLIPPED OFF ANNEX C BUT SLIPPED OFF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE AS WELL. HE READILY POINTS
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OUT THAT THERE IS NO UNANIMITY OF VIEW IN THE BRITISH DELEGATION, IN WHITEHALL, OR AMONG MINISTERS ON WHICH OF THE FOUR COURSES ABOVE SHOULD BE ADOPTED. BUT HE HIMSELF SEEMS TO LEAN HARD TO THE FOURTH. MOREOVER, THERE IS AN ELEMENT IN HIS REMARKS ABOUT IAN SMITH WHICH WOULD INDICATE HIS SYMPATHY FOR THE AFRICAN INSTINCT THAT LITTLE CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS SMITH LEAVES THE SCENE.ARMSTRONG

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